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ABSTRACT

This report summarized studies and discussions of social development in school, presented in two previous reports in Swedish. In addition to reporting on those two basic works, the report also contains direct excerpts and more detailed summations taking up activities and experiences from a research project, Studies in the Socialization Process in Schools (Project SOS). In this project it was attempted to throw light on some social-psychological and developmental-psychological theories, by using a research strategy directed toward activity. Work on the project was carried out in three districts in Gothenburg. In one, the pupils came mainly from working class homes, in another, mainly from middle class homes. In the third district, neither of these two home backgrounds dominated. The investigations carried out as part of the project collected data from these three districts and also from three more districts, sociologically roughly corresponding to the three original ones. Work was done with the first grade up to and including the ninth grade. The research work described here was paid for by the National Board of Education of Sweden. (Author/JM)

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THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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the SOS-project

23

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN SCHOOL.
Summary and excerpts.

Mats Ekholm

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
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EDUCATION

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Introduction

This report summarizes studies and discussions of social development in school, presented in two previous reports in Swedish (School Atmosphere and Environment, 1971 and Social Development in School, 1976). These two reports and the present summary form my doctor's thesis.

The summary is not limited merely to reporting on the two basic works mentioned above. It also contains direct excerpts and more detailed summations taking up activities and experiences from a research project, "Studies in the Socialization Process in Schools" (Project SOS).

In this project we have tried to throw light on some social-psychological and developmental-psychological theories or parts of theories, by using a research strategy directed toward activity. Work on the project was carried out in three school districts in Gothenburg. In one, the pupils came mainly from working class homes, in another, mainly from middle class homes. In the third district, neither of these two home backgrounds dominated. The investigations carried out as part of the project collected data from these three districts and also from three more districts, sociologically roughly corresponding to the three original ones. We worked with the First Grade up to and including the Ninth Grade. The number of pupils included in the investigations is shown in Diagram 1.

The research work here described was paid for by the National Board of Education of Sweden.

Aims of the school

> The education society furnishes children and youth has the purpose of of disseminating knowledge to them and training their skills; also, in cooperation with their homes, to further the pupils' development into harmonious human beings and capable members of society having a sense of responsibility. (School Regulations, § 1).
>
> Work in comprehensive school shall be adapted to the age of the pupils and to each pupil's own qualifications. In this work, a feeling of affinity between pupils and teachers shall be promoted. Pupils shall be encouraged to try to solve suitable tasks together.
>
> The school shall, through its atmosphere and environment, develop the pupils' self-reliance and independent judgment, as well as accustom them to honesty, consideration, attentiveness toward others and good manners. (School Regulations, Chapter 5, § 1).

School regulations and curriculae are the concrete expressions of the ambitions Swedish society has for its schools. The aim is to help develop the entire personality of the young. The ability to think, to use one's willpower and to feel, all have their place in this development, for which the school has its share of the responsibility. The task of the school, to stimulate this development, thus covers the cognitive, emotional and social growth of the pupils. It fulfills this task in two ways: by disseminating knowledge and by educating pupils as social beings. In my summary, I concentrate on the social development of pupils and on the education for social growth supplied by the school.

In my work social development stands for developing the pupils' thinking, feelings and actions having to do with existing together with other people.

Basic concepts for existing together

The interplay that occurs when people exist together is a very wide term. In the research work, I tried to concentrate on those relations between people which Swedish society wants to regulate by education in school. Swedish society has the aim of fostering conscious and active citizens who thoroughly understand a series of basic concepts for existing together and have come to include them in their actions (Ekholm, 1974).

In the curriculum for the comprehensive school (Lgr 69) it is said that

> "Life in a democratic society must be shaped by free and independent people. But freedom and independence must not become ends in themselves. They must provide a foundation for cooperation, an interplay between people. The school must therefor establish and develop in the pupils such qualities as can bear up and reinforce the democratic principles of tolerance, inter-action, and equality between human beings. A prime duty of the school is to awake respect for truth and justice, for the inherent value of human beings, for the inviolability of human life, and thus also for the right to personal integrity. It is important that the pupils be made accustomed to show helpfulness to all people, an a general willingness to cooperate. (Lgr 69, english version, p. 10). In the Lgr 69 it is also said that
>
> "School work in its entirety should thus aim at promoting the development of the pupils into independent members of society, with an interest in the world around them that will lead to personal involvement

> and a sense of international co-responsibility." (Lgr 69, eng. version, p. 10).

One of the main tasks of the school is to stimulate the social development of the pupils.

Social development and socialization

The term "social development" is taken from the curriculum of the comprehensive school. Within the limitations I have tried to give this term (see above), its meaning comes close to a well-known term from the behavioral and social sciences - socialization. Socialization and social development are not identical concepts. Socialization usually means

> the whole process by which an individual, born with behavioral potentialities of an enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range -- the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of this group" (Child, 1954).

The socialization process is the process by which young people in society are constrained to adapt to the existing social order. During this process, the child internalizes concepts of how the existing division of tasks in society best serves that society. The individual learns to be "content with his lot". In some societies, for instance in Sweden, the individual also learns - to a degree - to try to go beyond the limits of his or her lot and glance upward to the hierarchy of existing society.

The term social development can be used in two ways. It can describe a special type of development separated from other types, for instance, an intellectual or emotional development. Or it can have a normative content. It is then prescribing instead of describing. It is primarily in the second way that the term is used in the school curriculum.

It uses social development to mean a development having <u>fewer</u> moments of that pure adaptation to existing conditions which is inherent in the term socialization. The direction given to social development, when the term is used in its prescribing form, is naturally determinable. The direction of socialization is limited to here and now and to serving the established order.

In Sweden, the direction of the social development which the school is to inculcate in the young has been set with the idea of attaining a society that will function closer to democratic ideals than present society. Social development of the kind the school envisages demands another type of consciousness than the type we get today from the socialization process. Through socialization, the individual becomes conscious of the rules now existing in society. But social development aims to make the individual conscious, not only of existing rules, but also of rules that ought to exist. Social development thus aims to make the individual capable of standing up for this "ought", by his very way of being.

The socialization process means that young members of society become assimilated into the existing structure. Society's form and content change very little in the space of time it takes pupils to become young people and finally adults taking a more active part in the life of their society. Society's structure remains relatively unchanged although it is being filled by new people.

The prescribed social development aimed at in the curriculae does not, in its consequences, support the structure in the same way as socialization does. Instead, the social development contributed by the school aims to prepare pupils critically test, in word and deed, the existing structure. They must also be ready to take the consequences of this testing, and to find other contents and forms for their activity in society, better conforming to the democratic values which the school, in its goals, presumes will function in the society of the future.

These goals presume that the structure of society can change by teaching its young members to "test the structure". The very fact that this hope exists in a society, ought in itself to be a guarantee that such changing of the structure is possible. However, for this guarantee to become a reality, the will to change the structure must be widely spread and be embraced by large sections of society. Above all, the groups wielding the greatest influence and power must have this will. In the event that large structural changes are initiated by a majority of the population, it is just these power groups which will have to give up a part of their traditional functions. Whether this will exists in Swedish

society to an extent conforming to the ideas expressed in the curriculum, and in investigations made by both political and school organs, remains to be seen. The present generation of pupils must grow up and begin to take part in the work of society and in its development, before we can know the answer.

Development

Research in social development implies studies in processes of development. Development means change. Whether the change occurs in an individual, a group or an organization, it must have a direction in order to be accepted as development. When functioning increases in the separate parts, and the functioning of the parts is co-ordinated in a way more suited to the purpose in the complete system that is undergoing change, development occurs.

Development occurs when the organic unity that is in process of changing functions or acts in another way than earlier. Only after new actions have been carried out, does development become a reality. In working out my views on development, I have slowly come to realize the importance of this thesis, and also that other parts of what Sandgren (1974) calls "Piaget's structural dialectic" are both important and deserving of belief. Sandgren briefly summarizes the contents of this dialectic as follows:

> Cognitive growth must always come about through a series of states of unevenness between subject and object, seen as products of a structural organization. Development will then constantly lead to new states of unevenness. The dialectical state of opposition between the individual and the environment is dissolved by a structural reorganization that simultaneously changes the individual's conception of the environment and his consciousness of himself.
>
> Thus it is not consciousness which changes the structure, but the structural reorganization is bound up with insufficient adaptation (unevenness) in the concrete and actual interplay between organism and environment.
>
> Unevenness as a state is a "tension" between organism and environment that provokes the structural change, but in a direction which means that a more complex reality in some respect becomes more understandable. Understandable should here be grasped concretely - that is, that one acts in a way that is more adequate and free of contradiction.

For development to occur it is therefore necessary for the individual, or the social unit, to act in a new way. For a new way of acting to come about, it is necessary for it to be possible to carry out the act. The individual or the social unit must be able to carry it out, and there must be room for the act in the interaction with the surrounding world. Thus possibility is one of the conditions for development.

But it is not the only one. Development does not occur merely because it is possible. There must also be necessity. Necessity is defined in the dialectical interaction between individual and society, between social units. Necessity is by its nature subjective. For the individual it shows itself in the states of unevenness arising when the mutual demands and expectations of the surroundings and of the organism no longer agree. Which demands and expectations that exist are decided by the subject or subjects who are doing the acting.

Means for stimulating social development

It is quite clear that schooling is to contribute to the pupils' social development. The contribution the school wishes to make, and will make, is set in motion by the school making demands on the pupils to develop knowledge and skills that will prepare them to meet both physical and social surroundings. But merely making demands is not enough for the school to succeed in its purpose. An active contribution of a pedagogically explanatory, stimulating and helping nature is used. For the pupils' development in the field of knowledge, there are well-established routines for how the school-day shall be filled. But the routine for stimulating and furthering the pupils' social development is not so well ordered. The means for influencing the pupils in the direction premised in the curriculum are given in the school regulations quoted above. They speak of "atmosphere and environment" as means of reaching some of the basic goals for society's education of the young.

In the research work here summarized, I investigate the phenomenon of "school atmosphere" both theoretically and empirically. I also take up three different strategies for stimulating pupils' social development.

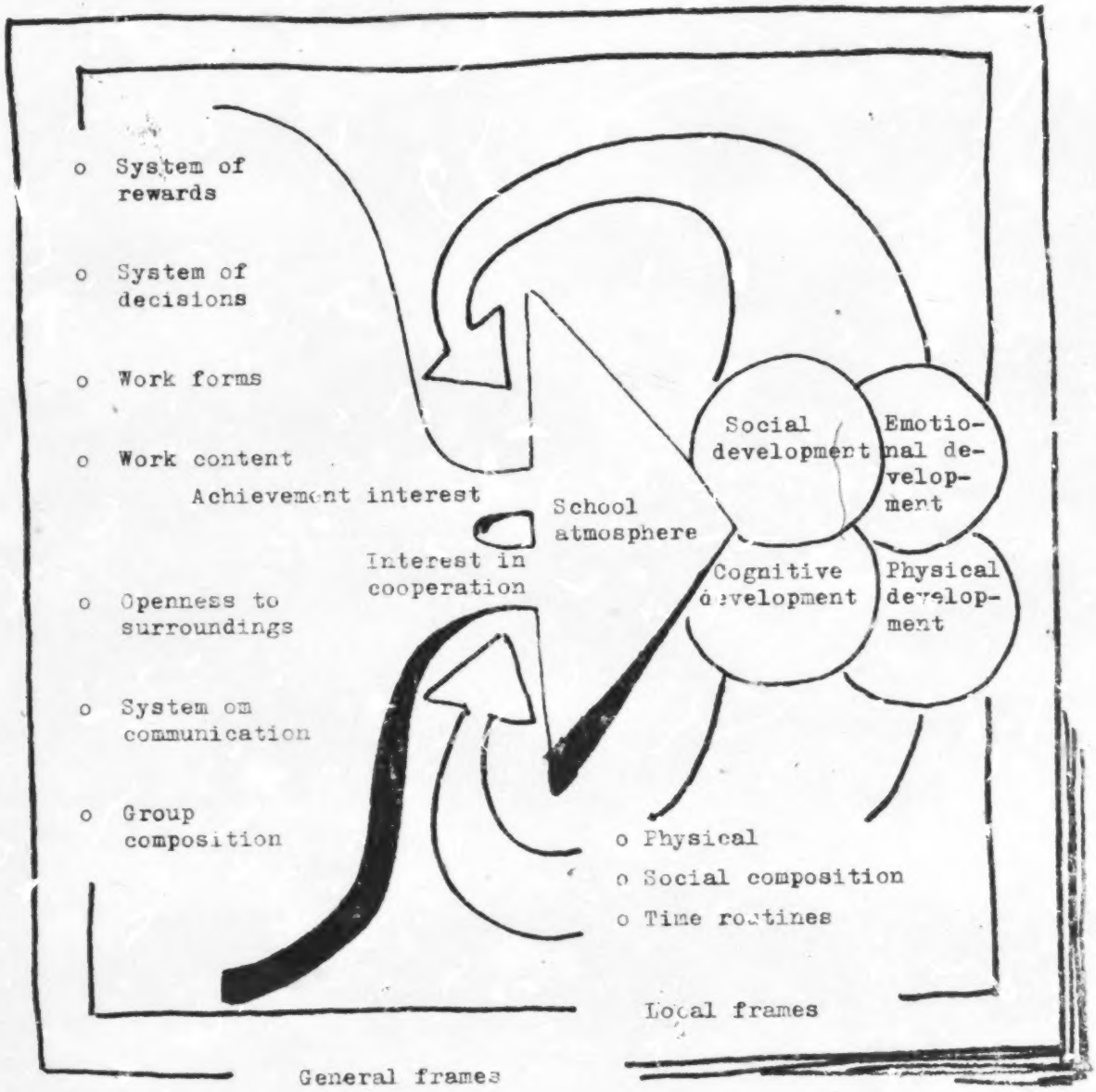
The strategies are examined from a theoretical point of view; to some extent studies were carried out to discover the possibility of using them in practical pedagogical work.

A study of school atmosphere and environment

With the purpose of characterizing the atmosphere of schools, I undertook in Spring 1969 an investigation in fifteen upper grade schools. From the results of questionnaires offered to pupils and teachers in Grade 8, we described the working atmospheres of the schools and correlated them to each other. Twelve per cent of the pupils did not accept the questionnaire. The percentage for teachers was 31 %. Altogether, 1.942 pupils and 320 teachers answered them. The accent in the investigation was on uncovering which aspect or aspects of school atmosphere were essential for the school to reach the goals set in the school regulations.

As a starting point, I chose to regard "atmosphere" as the thing that characterizes communication between persons in a school. Among other things, I included in atmosphere the communication patterns and states of feelings found between individuals and groups, the existing power relations, the frame of school subjects and tasks surrounding communication, and the importance of communication to the members of the school.

The results of the investigation show firstly, that school atmosphere can be a fruitful concept as a base for classifying local school environments. Secondly, they show that school atmosphere and some of its parts co-vary with factors in the prescribed social development which the school is to stimulate. A theoretical model for school atmosphere, its determinants and fields of influence - which steered the investigation of school atmosphere - was presented. As a result of the investigation the model was re-organized. The re-organized model is shown below.


o System of rewards
o System of decisions
o Work forms
o Work content
Achievement interest
School atmosphere
Interest in cooperation
o Openness to surroundings
o System om communication
o Group composition
Social development
Emotional development
Cognitive development
Physical development
o Physical
o Social composition
o Time routines
Local frames
General frames
o Political
o Geographical
o Cultural
o Economic

By its nature school atmosphere is both influenced by and influences the experiences of people who live in it. Because this mutual influencing happens school atmosphere in the long run becomes one of the factors causing changes in the more stable and lasting elements in an organization, which are shown on the left side of the diagram. Atmosphere is thus not something static, but someting that constantly changes in interaction with pooples' experiences and development, as well as with the changes occuring because of outer contributing factors. When we are dealing with atmosphere in school and its constant mobility, we must also keep in mind that it unceasingly grows and changes in an organization which, in itself, contains growth itself. The task of the school is to contribute to the total development of the young members of society, a development that occurs whether the school contributes to it or not. Since development moves like a force of nature, one of the foundations of school atmosphere - the pupils - is in constant motion.

After finishing the investigation of school atmosphere, two factors varying between schools and the realtions between them stood out as important. These factors -

1. the school collective's interest in achievement and joint action, and
2. its will to achieve and engage in joint action -

are variables between the total concept of school atmosphere and its more stable determinants. The collective interest in achievement and the will to engage in joint action are active filters through which the influence of other factors in school atmosphere pass. After determining the importance of these two factors, I found that I was by no means alone in seeing their importance. The summary made by French and Bell (1973) of various ways to develop organizations contains several programs for such development, having their starting point in precisely these interjacent factors.

The working atmosphere in a school takes shape primarily in the daily interpretations of interest in achievement and joint action, which come from choosing work patterns and work routines - in brief, from choosing a form for the work.

The sphere of action of school atmosphere

School contributes to its pupils' cognitive, social, emotional and physical development. In these fields, school atmosphere can make greater or smaller contributions to each of these four paths of development. A school that stresses physical achievement naturally means a stronger necessity and possibility for the pupil's physical development than one which stresses intellectual results.

Swedish society and its schools have traditionally avoided stressing either emotional or physical development. Emotional development craves close daily contact with other people. Our school is therefore less well suited than other social forms to have responsibility for this type of development. Instead, home and family have the main responsibility. Physical development has its traditional place in school, in the subject of physical education. But the time spent on this is too short to result in any substantial contribution to the physical development of pupils. They must take care of this development on their own, with or without help from outside organizations in this field.

School is important for the cognitive development of pupils. School atmosphere, through the demands it makes, and if it allows people to be different and even to make mistakes, can be one important component among many which decide the results of the pupil's cognitive development. Besides, school forms an environment giving young people varied opportunities to meet people to whom they are not bound by strong feelings, or not even by any, and yet are forced to live with and spend time. These conditions contribute strongly to the pupils' social development.

Cognitive and social development are intimately entwined. A social development that attains the ideals set forth in Swedish school regulations presumes a certain cognitive development. Cognitive development without social couplings and consequences, without being infused by values, leads to what Sandgren (1974) calls "valueless" knowledge.

Work methods

The school's most essential form of activity - studies - was analyzed in our investigations with regard to the pupils' social development. The analysis builds on which type of work methods dominated the school day. We used both the evaluations made by teachers and pupils on the questionnaire, and direct classroom observations. These were done in fourteen lower and middle grade classes in Gothenburg during the Fall of 1974. Relatively untrained observers - second-year university students - classified what happened in the classroom at intervals of 10 minutes for two to three days. The reliability of the instruments for observation has in other investigations been found to be not too low (Eklholm and Wernersson, 1976). Agreement between pairs of observers were on the average .80 for observations in the middle grades and .90 for the upper grades.

The school work pattern showed itself to be relatively monotonous. Observation results show that pupils worked mainly by themselves on an identical task. Besides this work method, the hours in class were dominated by the teacher speaking, in the form of explaining the subject and then asking questions. Pupils seldom did any form of collective work other than being together in the same room. Classroom work was steered mainly by the subject taught and the textbook and/or teaching materials, and to a certain degree by the teacher. I discuss the effects of the school's work pattern on the pupils' development. I show how the routine work pattern hinders a social development among the pupils in the direction prescribed by the curriculum of the comprehensive school.

I propose using a work method that will be of greater help to the pupils' development. This proposal is based on Piaget's philosophy. I assume that the proposed work method will have more positive effects on both cognitive and social development, as compared to the observed dominating method. I propose a series of concrete steps in an investigative work method, i. e., one that is based on pupils' own investigations of the phenomena in their surroundings. The importance of letting pupils come with questions of their own in the beginning of the learning process is stressed, as is the importance of letting them seek their own ways of finding information in order to answer their own questions. I

also stress the importance of having pupils investigate their own concepts by putting the knowledge they do have into practice and by operating with concepts on their own. After that, I propose that they mentally organize or reorganize their own concepts.

I show the pedagogical necessity of working with one's experiences to fully grasp them. Such working out of experiences takes time. I therefore demand that pupils be given sufficient time to really be able to organize or reorganize their concepts. I discuss how this investigative work method can be combined with the ambition of fostering young people to accept democratic values. I discuss the demands this work method makes on the teacher's way of evaluating pupils, and recommend teachers to make the transition from evaluating <u>products</u> to evaluating <u>processes</u> in connection with how pupils learn.

Working concretely with the investigative method

I give an example of how it is possible to work concretely according to the pedagogical steps of the investigative method when teaching "basic human characteristics". It was taken from an experiment in the middle grade classes, to try to influence the pupils' ethical development by testing their ability to live together with others according to the aims of the school regulations and curriculum.

Two concepts proved to be suitable for starting this experiment: "joy" and "disappointment". We began by getting pupils (individually or in small groups) to explain why these well-known reactions arise. In order to achieve breadth in the explanatory models which the pupils found to be relevant, and increase their understanding for others and thus weaken their egocentrism vis à vis their surroundings, the small groups were usually given the task of starting from a specific human role or human group. These small groups of pupils thus tried seeking explanations by starting from the reaction of younger or older school mates, contemporaries, parents, teachers, dining hall personnel, school superintendents (porters), or pensioners (retired adults).

The teacher told each group to think about what might make these people happy. The pupils were also encouraged to present the findings of their thinking in a short play or improvised dramatic sketch limited to five minutes.

These improvised sketches were later presented before the class as an audience. In some classes the pupils rehearsed in their free time. The sketches were also presented before an audience of pupils from other classes.

After each sketch, the rest of the class "analyzed" it. This part of the work was led by the teacher. The audience had the task of judging whether the sketches were good/bad and if they kept close to reality. The audience also judged the "cause and effect" conditions shown in the sketch. This meant they tried to discover which explanation of the reaction of "joy" the group was illustrating. The teacher helped the pupils in their analysis by keeping score of the pupils' comments on the blackboard.

After all groups had presented their sketches and written down the explanation for the reactions of "joy", the teacher gave the pupils a homework task: they were to take the explanation of cause and effect which they themselves had pointed out, and practice these at home with the aim of making someone in the family glad. This task was often greeted with joy.

These practical applications of the pupils' own ponderings were then followed up in school. Before the class met together to list their discoveries and go through the experiences the pupils had had at home, pupils in some classes had tested their own surmises directly in the school itself. Some classes tested whether their own explanatory models worked in joint action with dining hall personnel, with the superintendent (porter) or on other teachers than their own. They tested their surmises by thanking politely for the food in the dining hall and praising it, by holding open a door for someone etc. Parallel with such experiments and even wholly independently of them, pupils in other classes decided to test their surmises by interviewing the group

of people they had taken as a starting point in their experiment of learning to think. The superintendent, retired older folk, the proprietor of the corner shop and others had to undergo questioning by curious middle grade pupils. Some adults were surprised, but they accepted their role of being a source of knowledge.

Finally the class met to go through the experiences. Pupils compared what they thought before the experiment to what they now were prepared to accept as possible, after having met reality in the shape of human beings and human relations. The comparison was then used as a ground for taking a stand on various explanatory models.

The outline of work sketched above for testing the concept of "joy" was usually repeated when pupils later tested the concept of "disappointment".

But for the practical application of this concept other work methods were chosen. The teacher did not send pupils home with the task of disappointing someone. As before, interviews were made to test the durability of the pupils' surmises. Usually the teacher let pupils apply their knowledge of what makes a person feel disappointed by offering himself or herself as the object of the experiment. Artful ways of drawing lots to determine which pupil or pupils in the class should have the privilege of testing a surmise on the unsuspecting teacher were constructed. The pupils' reactions to the experiment of making the teacher disappointed were carefully discussed by the class.

After pupils and teachers together had worked out the concepts of "joy" and "disappointment", the investigative work method was applied somewhat differently in different classes. The first two classes doing the experiment took up the concept of "justice". Several other classes chose "fear". In both cases, the teachers decided to work more intimately with the pupils' actual and concrete experiences, to get material to work on. In getting teachers involved in the happenings around the concept-analysis, certain other benefits were won. The teachers were transformed from being "leaders of the experiment" into active participants. In the class working with "justice", we sought out situations that would let the children experience morally unjust actions. In the

class working with "fear", the teacher had the aim of creating a mutual and temporary fear in the children.

In situations where injustice and fear exist and constitute a direct effect of the social interplay that goes on, a large portion of self-reliance is necessary in order to break free of the existing relationship. The type of independent action that is necessary is based on self-reliance plus responsibility. Self-reliance based on egocentric logic is not enough, since conflicts over an injustice between one ego and another are not a problem, seen from the point of view of this logic. According to an egocentric, his own ego's reaction is a sufficient criterion of justice. Since individual responsibility for one's own actions craves independent action against authority, we judged it fitting that the teacher should place his or her own authority under debate, and this was done in classes working with "injustice" perpetrated by the teacher. When pupils then analyzed their own reactions to an "unjust" teacher, the entire class was able to see how strong the teacher's authority actually is, and how small the pupils' chances are of defending their own rights.

In classes where the teacher chose to frighten pupils (for example by threatening that they would be injected against an epidemic disease), the purpose was rather to show that teacher, as well as the class ruffian and others, could feel fear and are frightened by the same things. In this way, the teacher's halo of authority could be knocked askew and he or she came closer to the mass of ordinary human beings. The purpose of the methods sketched above for investigating "fear" and "injustice" was for pupils to discover which kinds of fear are useful and which are unnecessary, and how to help others get rid of their fears. In situations of learning to act independently and with self-reliance against injustice, we had the idea of getting pupils to show their reactions more openly in front of their teacher than is possible today. We also thought of how to get pupils to discover which paths for effective criticism exist.

This was the extent of our systematic evaluation of the effects of the investigative work method on pupils. The teachers who took part told

us that in some classes, relations between teacher and pupils became deeper. The pupils reacted with interest and pleasure to this work method. To some degree they came out of all this with a new language. They explain with utter seriousness but with a gleam in their eyes that their teacher has once more disappointed them. Some of the participating teachers tried to use the new principles of the investigative work method in other situations, for instance both in teaching ordinary subjects and to encourage Fourth Grade pupils to better understand instructions and act upon them on their own.

Three strategies for stimulating social development

Three methods or strategies for influencing social development in pupils can be derived from pedagogical and psychological theories. These methods and their possible results have been scrutinized by Ziller (1971) in the light of a hierarchy for changing individual characteristics.

First I discuss a reinforcement-steered social development. I do not recommend a conscious and wide use of this strategy for stimulating pupils' social development. I base this conclusion on observations: that adults do not function as consistently, rationally or consciously as the reinforcement theory craves. The second method is learning from a model. The third is existing in a specific social role and the lessons one can learn from doing so.

I present different reasons why people are influenced by models, and take these criterions as the basis of an examination of the models available in a school situation. I point out that the school often does not use the force existing in the very people in a school who, from an analytical point of view and with regard to their experience, would seem to have the greatest possibility of being models - to wit, the older pupils. In the SOS-project, opportunities were created to offer younger pupils interesting older models within the fram of work in class, so that their possibility of learning from models should not be limited merely to recesses or after school. Later in this report, I describe how this resulted in older pupils taking part in teaching younger ones.

Social roles in school

I discuss the content of the pupil's role and of the role so intimately bound up with it, that of the teacher. The pupil's role is characterized by the pupil's need to "please the teacher", by pressure on the pupil to consume knowledge rather than to produce it, by pupils being constrained to subordinate themselves and seldom getting a chance to make decisions or take real responsibility. The pupil's role is dominated by dependence on adults and lack of self-confidence. Some results from questionnaires given to pupils in Grades 4 - 9, shown in Diagram 1, illustrate existing conditions.

The diagram shows the pupils' answers to the question, what would they do if they had to find out how a thing is produced and had been told to use the school library, but had come up on another way of finding out that was quicker. Data was collected in 1974 in Gothenburg in six school districts. The participating group was socio-economically heterogeneous.

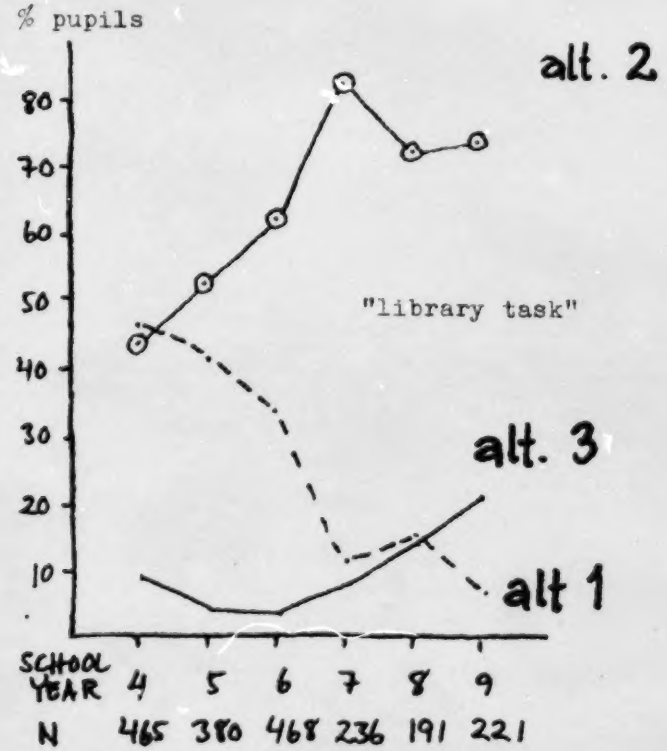


Diagram 1. Pupils' answers to a question concerning self-reliance. Procent.

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The exact formulation of the question was:

Imagine that your teacher gives you a task. You are as quickly as possible to find out how a certain thing is produced. The teacher has told you how to do it: go to the library and read about it in a book. But you yourself can figure out another way that is quicker. Perhaps you can get this information from someone you know who works in such production, or by ringing up a factory, or in some other way. Which way do you choose?

1 ( ) Do as your teacher told you, and go to the library.

2 ( ) Ask your teacher if you may do as you yourself have thought of.

3 ( ) Do as you yourself have figured out without first asking the teacher.

Up to the final year in the upper grades, there is no marked increase in the choice of the self-reliant alternative. The increase that slowly comes in the last two years seems to be the result of a kind of natural growth (the pupils become older). The smallness of the increase must be regarded as unsatisfactory for a school having as one of its chief ambitions to develop self-reliant persons. The diagram shows us that pupils tend to develop other ways of acting than the school desires. The uppermost line in the diagram shows that what they actually learn in school is to take heed of, interpret and follow the expectations of adults. The more years pupils spend in school, the greater their grasp of its rules for "social adaptation".

This increased grasp of the demands adults in school make on them, leads to an increasing number of pupils asking their teachers whether the solution they have independently come to is acceptable. In situations less tied to school, where the same type of questionnaire was used, pupils do not to the same extent answer that one should ask the teacher before acting. In such situations more pupils are inclined to act on their own.

Against the background of these results, among other things, I show that the way school works things out actually holds back the ability of pupils to cooperate with others, saps their self-reliance and makes

them more loath to take on responsibility. For most pupils, life in school does not demand of them that they should develop in the desired ways. The social development that does come about in the direction which society desires school to achieve, is instead at best stimulated by life outside of school, and by natural forces which the school is unable to hold back.

Thus, traditional and general expectations of how pupils ought to behave determine the pupil's role today. I also give examples from the questionnaire project, of how teachers' expectations may influence the pupils' will to act.

I presume that the pupil's role is determined by the opportunities for action remaining to pupils after the teacher has fulfilled his or her role. I describe the teacher's role as more active and richer in initiative than the pupil's - the teacher prepares and chooses material, makes plans, asks questions etc. The teacher fulfills an adult professional role craving a high degree of activity for it to be used to the full.

Two ways of learning by existing in a school role are presumed to be possible. First, the actions required of the role are "drummed in" by experience; second, an active and conscious working through of the experiences gained in the role can result in knowledge. The second way of learning from existing in a role is seldom used in school. I argue for an increased use of this pedagogical possibility. At the same time, I recommend that the pupil's role should be widened, so that it will be possible to both "drum in" experiences, and also to gain a greater number of them to work on in school.

I propose a way to get such a widening by changing the social roles in school. A short report is given on some of the concrete experiment that were made to create a pupil's role more filled with self-reliance, reflection, responsibility, initiative and demands for cooperation. Examples are given from the experiment described above, to get pupils to use their powers of reflection to investigate concepts of importance to human co-existence. I describe how teachers applied this work method in certain subjects, within the SOS-project.

The method of letting older pupils help younger ones by acting as their teachers, either as a task or of their own free will, was used to give older pupils greater opportunities for practising and developing their skills, as well as gaining a deeper understanding of others.

Four models for how older pupils helped younger ones in the schools used for the SOS-project are presented. In one, individual older pupils took care of individual younger ones. Usually the older pupil helped another one who had learning problems, for a long period of time. Another model was that older pupils took care of groups of younger ones. For instance, Sixth Graders helped First Graders with their reading, or showed Third Graders simple handicraft methods in woodwork. During their two hours a week of freely disposed time, pupils in the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Grades taught all kinds of subjects to lower and middle grades. Teenagers took care of small groups and taught them multiplication, English vocabulary, tried to explain how horses function and how it is possible to travel to the moon and back.

The third model was older pupils who had charge of entire classes of younger ones. This form has never been tested to any extent or for a longer time. In some cases, instead of reporting to their classmates and their own teacher, the reports of these older pupils were integrated with teaching the younger pupils. In a few cases, individual younger pupils informed a whole older class about the results they got from smaller investigations of their own.

The fourth model, showing how both older and younger pupils can cooperate, gave examples of entire classes exchanging views together. The subjects used for this work were traffic education, map symbols, discussions on the practical professional training which the pupils take part in for several weeks as part of the regular school program, a course used to introduce new pupils to the school, orienting oneself in the city, and other subjects touching on the local surroundings.

The use of older pupils as a pedagogical resource in teaching gave overwhelmingly positive results in the Swedish schools participating in this experiment. Older pupils, in particular, evaluated this experience of

working with younger ones positively. Younger pupils were also very positive to having older ones as a teaching help. Rough estimates show that the younger pupils' fear of the older ones lessened. The great majority of teachers involved in getting older pupils to take care of younger ones were positive to this work form. In a few cases, they found the older pupils uninterested and more trouble than help.

The preponderance of positive results from having older pupils as teachers and taking responsibility for younger ones agrees well with American experiences (Good and Brophy, 1973; Lippit, Lippit and Eiseman, 1971). However, the Swedish schools participating in the experiment did not investigate the effects it had on the learning process.

If older pupils are to learn anything from working with younger ones, it is necessary that they work over their experiences. I also recommend that pupils examine other roles they may have taken on in school. This is in order to widen the role of a pupil in still other directions, so that it will go beyond taking on the increased responsibility and gaining the increased self-reliance which it is possible for older pupils to attain when helping younger ones. To realize a pupil's role of a wider scope, we also need to change and develop the teacher's role. I propose that a "catalytic" (Piaget, 1969) teacher's role should be developed. Besides our experiences with developing the pupil's role, I also report on experiences and conclusions from our efforts to develop the teacher's role.

As the starting point for changing the teacher's role, I recommend that teachers carry out some sort of systematic description of reality, which will capture continuous and therefore important events in the life of the school. I point out that questionnaires for pupils on the theme of social development, and simple observation instruments can be useful. I state that working out one's experiences in a teaching situation by the method of criticism and self-criticism is a suitable way of developing a role.

A Government Bill ....

In Social Development in School (1976) I try to describe which steps which should be taken in a pedagogical process basing itself on theories on how people assimilate knowledge (see above, section on "The Investigative Work Method, pp). At the same time as that work and this report were finished, the Swedish government presented a Bill on the internal work of the school (Government Bill 1975/76:39). The Bill recommends that Swedish comprehensive school should use so-called "laborative" work methods, and that teachers should use "dialogue-pedagogy". Both these recommendations are based on the premise that the interplay between an individual in process of developing, and his or her surroundings, is of a dialectical nature.

The basic assumptions on the work methods recommended by the goverment seem in part to agree with the theoretical starting points of my report. But agreement on the basic view is not complete. In particular, the Bill does not stress necessity as one of the motive forces behind human development.

If one translates the government's recommendations to the terms I have used, my description of the investigative work method seems to clarify what is meant by a "laborative" work method. In a catalytic teacher's role (such as I recommend), dialogue is a given component, although I lay greater stress on the teacher's task of actively explaining and creating an understanding of which necessity for development actually exists.

... and Its Practical Application

If the Bill is accepted by Parliament in Spring 1976, I believe possibilities for applying the investigative work method and getting a catalytic teacher's role, and thereby a widened pupil's role, will increase. For these changes to come about, it is still not enough for Parliament to accept the Bill. Introduction of the new investigative work methods, with all that it means for the social development of pupils, craves a program or plan of action that must be carried out.

Such a program will make it possible to test my statements on how social roles in school can be changed and developed. If a development in this respect occurs, it will also be possible in future to make field studies to see whether the results of the investigativ work method are such as I have reported. Research in this direction makes great demands on peoples' capacities for understanding the quality of the results. For such research to be meaningful, we must also demand that researchers carefully study the actual processes and can grasp what becomes regular in them.

It is, of course, not absolutely certain that in the next years the Swedish school system will undergo a transformation of such magnitude as to make it possible to compare conventional teaching with the investigative work method, to any great extent. For the school to change in that direction, it is necessary to undertake many more structural changes than the Bill indicates. One obstacle is the present type of report cards. Investigations now under way may arrive at the conclusion that the school's system of rewards must be changed, which might support the use of the investigative work method. There are no signs of any imminent similar changes in the traditional segregation of pupils according to age. This segregation may also raise obstacles on the road to a school which truly organize its work with the idea of developing the investigative method. As long as school retains a time schedule that breaks up the work into set hours for teaching and set subjects to be followed, yet another obstacle remains on the road to applying the investigative method more generally.

Since these obstacles may remain in force for a decade or more, it seems a good idea to continue experiments like the SOS-project. I believe that even research less oriented toward activity is to be recommended. For one thing, comparisons made in a natural school situation of the two work methods discussed above can be of interest. For another, there is a need to map out what really happens when the investigative method is introduced into a rather restrained frame of subjects, so that we may follow step by step the development and growth, and even the eventual set-backs, of this method.

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